10¢ MARCH 6, 1950

New Republic

A.N.C.

THE BRITISH ELECTION

A cable from NORMAN MacKENZIE

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE:

TWO BOOK REVIEWS

By ALBERT Z. CARR & WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

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Negotiations *to be* Resumed

THAT new talks on international atomic control are in the offing can scarcely be doubted. Whether yielding to the pressure exerted on him and on Secretary Acheson, or pursuing his own course, the President has conceded that new plans and new ideas for atom control will be listened to.

¶ Early last fall the *New Republic* took the lead in proposing major changes in the Baruch Plan. Of the five concrete suggestions made, Senator Austin said "perhaps they may assist in the continuing effort at cooperation among the nations and in determining whether there is a 'better and more effective plan'."

¶ Shortly to start in the *New Republic* is a series of four articles by the Editors on Atom Control. Prepared in Washington with the assistance of technical experts, these articles are one of the major journalistic efforts of this magazine's long career. When completed the series will have restated and explained every relevant fact that is available to the public about atom fission, the A- and the H-bomb, military and industrial uses of atomic energy. It will have reëxamined the whole history of international negotiation for control and made specific proposals looking toward an acceptable and workable plan.

¶ Discussion and understanding, first by public opinion in America and the Western World—discussion by and with the Russians in the agencies of the UN—then negotiation. The ideas advanced by the *New Republic,* by the Quakers, by the organizations of scientists, those of the statesmen and publicists of every land, must be explored and discussed.

—o—

The defeatism of "no negotiation" lies behind us, the promise of renewed talks lies ahead.

—o—

¶ To follow this most urgent controversy of the twentieth century, to be aware, alert and informed, read this series and read the *New Republic.* It is the magazine of ideas, of discussion, of understanding.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

SOME TIME THIS SPRING Harry Truman will make a "non-political" tour across America, with whistle-stop speeches. That's the plan now. Normally an Administration loses 25 to 30 "shirt-tail" seats in the House in the Congressional campaign following the Presidential election. The political high-water mark recedes. Such a loss now would be intensely embarrassing to Truman. He wants not merely to forestall it but, if possible, to strengthen his own Democratic-liberal wing. His biggest asset is his appeal to the masses. Before the fall election he will apply it.

Incidentally, the chief difference between a "political" and a "non-political" trip is who pays for it. The former is theoretically financed by party funds, the latter by the taxpayers. Truman's tour will be "non-political" in the second sense, "political" in most of the others.

Put down as a forthcoming event, too, the annual Senate filibuster over civil-rights legislation. It will start on or around March 10. That's when Majority Leader Lucas will introduce a strong FEPC bill. To be candid, we think this is largely politics. Last year the GOP justified its Dixiecrat coalition by saying the new "Wherry Rule" requiring 64 votes to apply closure to break a filibuster was adequate to get civil-rights legislation passed. Almost certainly it isn't. The Administration is intent on showing up the GOP by the coming test.

Last week the House passed an "educational" FEPC bill without enforcement authority. It did this after a 15-hour filibuster, part of which we watched. It was a pretty grim affair. A number of the members were obviously drunk. But we will say this. Democracy was vindicated in the sense that the majority finally forced the matter to a decision, even though it was a decision we do not care for. That is more, we believe, than can be done in the Senate. Speaker Rayburn, a Texan who has no love for FEPC, could have prevented a vote, but did not. We think he deserves credit for this. He put democracy first.

The House FEPC bill can be looked at in two lights. It is obviously a feeble thing; action taken under it would not be backed by the courts. On the other hand, it is the first civil-rights bill passed by the House in 75 years. It will not suit the all-or-nothing school. It might, however, establish a precedent if something even as weak as this could be squeezed through the Senate.

In recent months three prominent men have lumped the USA with the USSR as about equally responsible for the cold war: Pandit Nehru, Albert Einstein and the French novelist, François Mauriac. This is terribly irritating. Yet these men remind us of the suspicious outside world. If the USA cannot make its case for decisive moral superiority in the eyes of anxious neutrals, guns and bullets will do little good. Half the population of the world is dark-skinned. Enactment of an adequate FEPC law would do more to win China, India and the rest than the H-bomb.

The "Voice of America" is one of the chief instruments in the world struggle against totalitarianism. It seems incredible that every facility should not be extended to VOA. But neither the powerful Associated Press nor the United Press will sell it their services. By some tortuous reasoning they argue that this would end their ability to speak for a "free press." (The AP sells its service to the Russian TASS agency.)

Furthermore, VOA is excluded from the Senate and House press galleries. Here again this is somehow represented as a great moral issue. The Standing Committee of Correspondents, which governs admission to the Press Gallery, has turned VOA down. Similar vetoes on the Negro and labor press were ultimately overcome, but the committee forced the radio and news-magazine correspondents to set up separate galleries. The Voice is relegated to one of these. (TASS is admitted to the regular

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press gallery.) We do not believe that this preposterous situation can last. The International News Service has felt no hesitation in selling its facilities to the government. There is something incredibly smug in the remarks made by UP president Hugh Baillie, on January 15, 1946, spurning VOA as a paying customer: "Of course we desire to be completely disassociated from the State Department's propaganda program."

The Administration is disappointed at the lack of a strong majority in the British election. Fortunately, the Parliamentary system is more flexible than ours. No dangerous two-year stalemate need occur. A coalition is possible, or probably before long a new election. In the meantime further nationalization is out.

Notes. The GOP had a wonderful issue in potatoes; now, however, it has virtually shouldered responsibility for the anti-consumer subsidy that cost $100 million this year and $500 million altogether. Over Administration protests, the GOP passed a Senate bill continuing the scheme. . . . There is evidence of steady growth in Brannan Plan sentiment among farmers. . . . Truman could have made his important foreign-affairs speech last week a "Fireside Talk" that would have gone into every home in America. Instead he sprang it at the last minute, with virtually no radio time.

Gas consumers in 40 states will be injured if the Kerr bill to exempt independent natural-gas producers from Federal Power Commission rate-fixing is enacted. It was to aid the big gas producers that Leland Olds was thrown off the FPC. . . . Congress doesn't realize it yet, but recent Soviet victories mean higher taxes; a demand for more defense spending seems inevitable to us. . . . ECA's presentation of its budget case to Congress last week was a model of its kind; however, Hoffman is bowing to the legislative economy drive instead of sticking to the basic fact that more money is required. . . . The T-H Act is an administrative monstrosity in dividing power between the National Labor Relations Board and its own independent general counsel, Robert Denham; while Truman ostentatiously keeps hands off, one of the bitterest feuds in Washington is developing under this Taft setup.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Wrong Road

SIR: In your editorial of February 20, 1950, "The UN Is Still the Way to Peace," you seem to follow up on a thesis that was first enunciated in an editorial on the supposed death of the Truman Doctrine; namely, that Secretary of State Acheson is outlining a new policy in Asia. You seem completely and perhaps intentionally to ignore the fact that the State Department recently recognized the puppet government of Bao Dai in French Indo-China, which is kept alive by the presence of French troops on alien Asiatic soil.

It seems obvious to me that our policy in Asia will continue its hopeless trend of backing colonial or native fascist governments with money and weapons in the effort to fight the spread of Communism. The only policy change, if any, in Secretary of State Acheson's recent pronouncements concerning China seems to be that we will no longer openly support corrupt native governments in Asia once they have been driven completely out of their country.

Berkeley, Calif. HOWARD S. LEVY

Rankin and Einstein

SIR: Is no one in public office going to rebuke Representative Rankin for calling Albert Einstein an "old faker" and suggesting that he be deported? Do Rankin's colleagues agree with him or are they afraid of him?

New York City PETER JOHNSON

The Atom Race

SIR: Your editorial ("The Hydrogen Bomb," the *New Republic*, February 13) ought to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of all people with sufficient imagination to envisage what a war with atomic and hydrogen bombs would mean. If permanent insecurity, like permanent revolution, is the principal means by which a dictatorship effects the absolute control of a whole people, then our present policy is foolishly calculated to contribute to the preservation of this control in the Soviet Union. To dedicate ourselves to the creation of "areas of strength," especially in the military sense, forces us into a competitive arms race in which the Soviets, from all we know of their capacities, will match strength for strength. The position of our government on the hydrogen bomb can mean, on the face of it, only one thing: we believe that it is no longer possible to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

The terrible thing about this position is the belief in our own prescience which it implies, that in so fateful a future issue as that of war or peace we can predetermine the actions of our adversary. We risk violence because we are convinced that we can foresee the violent intentions of the Soviet Union. There is no justification for this either in logic or experience. We have had our successes with the Soviet Union in negotiations when it was in our and their interest to negotiate. In so vital an issue as that of atomic weapons we must attempt negotiations once again before we commit ourselves to a hydrogen-bomb race, or forever lose our moral position before the world.

New York City ERNEST J. SIMMONS

No Evasion

SIR: Our attention has been called to a statement appearing in the January 30, 1950, issue of the *New Republic*, in which are listed various kinds of businesses owned by universities, among them the Encyclopædia Britannica, owned by the University of Chicago.

The statement which follows says that if these businesses were not tax-exempt they would pay $173 million in taxes.

Your reporter is careless with his facts. Encyclopædia Britannica is an independent corporation. The University of Chicago owns part of its stock. However, Encyclopædia Britannica pays taxes, just as any commercial corporation pays taxes. It is operated as a corporation for profit; it is subject, therefore, to any tax applicable to similar publishing businesses. . . .

LYNN A. WILLIAMS JR., Vice-President,
Chicago, Ill. The University of Chicago

SIR: My information came from documents developed in various government hearings and investigations. It is obviously wrong. I should be pleased to hear that other universities are in the same position as the University of Chicago with regard to these activities.

New York City A. G. MEZERIK

"There Are No Jobs"

SIR: I want to thank you very much for your article, "Unemployment Increase" (the *New Republic*, February 20). Your magazine is the only one that seems to understand the situation.

I can dig ditches or do nuclear fission, analytical chemistry and colloid chemistry. I speak German and Spanish. I graduated from college in 1949.

I have tried every way I know to get a job. There are no jobs. I have traveled over eight states and it's the same story.

Congressmen talk about millions more for education. What are you to do with the one you have? . . .

Does anyone need a ditch digger or a physical scientist? The Senate worries about Asia's and Europe's starving. Why not consider America?

I can get no help from social security because I did not work in 1949. As I said before, there were no jobs. . . .

Harrisonburg, Va. HOWARD JAMES

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 10, ISSUE 1840, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 6, 1950 **New Republic**

TAFT-HARTLEY IS NOT THE SOLUTION

TRUMAN'S RELUCTANCE to move toward government seizure of the coal mines left both the country and striking members of the United Mine Workers, at the beginning of this week, close to a genuine crisis.

The industrial disruption was apparent in shrinking coal stockpiles, closing of schools, layoffs of workers, rationing of fuel supplies. In half a dozen previous UMW strikes, newspapers have repeatedly cried wolf. This time it was real.

The Taft-Hartleyized miners faced their own emergency. Three hundred and seventy thousand of them have fought stubbornly to keep from being whipped back into the pits on terms dictated by the mine operators. For months they have endured the insecurity and nerve strain of successive "memorial periods," three-day weeks, no-day weeks, more three-day weeks, and finally a full-scale strike in defiance of John L. Lewis' orders. The measure of their desperation was shown in their willingness to reject Lewis' counsel in an effort to get a stable new contract.

In the end they faced the grim penalties of the T-H Act. Judge Raymond B. Keech had ordered them back to work—for the private profit of private employers on the conditions which the employers deemed proper. They had refused. District and local union officials were liable to jail sentences. The $15 million union treasury was under attack. One Pennsylvania miner grimly remarked, "It's better to have a union without a treasury than a treasury without a union."

President Truman had no choice three weeks ago except to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act, and to expose the miners to injunctive penalties and sanctions. But he was not required to rely on T-H alone, thus allowing the whole weight of government authority to thrust itself against the miners. Government seizure of the mines would be a proper way out. As a temporary measure, it would restore equity in government attitudes. If accompanied by a proviso that all mine profits above a "fair return" would travel to the public treasury, it would shake the carefully cherished assumption of the operators that all they had to do in coal negotiations was say "no, no, no" to Lewis and wait for the Taft-Hartley Act to blast the union.

Whether Congress would accept a Truman proposal for a mine-seizure is debatable, but the pressure of public opinion, rallied by the President, would be intense. The President is well informed on the situation between the miners and the operators. A single radio speech, outlining the facts and demanding an agreement, might be enough to force a settlement without an actual seizure law being necessary. By reliance on Taft-Hartley alone, the government can eventually force the miners back to work, but that is neither a good way to get coal nor a good way to settle the dispute.

THE WEEK

FEPC IN THE HOUSE

An FEPC capable of preventing discrimination in employment has been blocked in the House of Representatives because 104 Republicans lined up with Southern Democrats to prevent its consideration. Hiding behind a "toothless" substitute for the Administration's Powell bill, all but 49 of the Republican members of the House disregarded the GOP's platform plank which called for an FEPC with adequate enforcement powers.

Republicans are emphasizing that the FEPC bill passed by the House was a GOP bill, sponsored by Representative Samuel K. McConnell (R, Pa.) and that it was supported on the final vote by more Republicans than Democrats. The truth is that the roll call the GOP is citing has no significance. The test of who was and who was not in favor of a strong FEPC occurred the night before this final vote and reveals beyond question that the Republican Party ran out on its campaign promise.

At noon on February 22, the House convened to hear the reading of George Washington's Farewell Address and to proceed with the regular business of a "calendar Wednesday." Under standard procedure, the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, Representative John Lesinski (D, Mich.), was due to be recognized to bring up bills recommended by his committee. For weeks, Lesinski had waited his turn thus to call up the FEPC bill which the Committee on Rules, with the Republicans acting as the balance of power, had refused to clear. But the Southern Democrats and Republicans had got together and were prepared to short-circuit FEPC again. Throughout the 15-

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hour session on Washington's Birthday Howard Smith (D, Va.), floor leader for the Southerners, could be seen huddling with Clarence Brown, of Ohio, the senior Republican on the Rules Committee, and Sam McConnell, the author of the trick Republican bill, to kill an effective FEPC.

Within two minutes after the session opened, John Rankin (D, Miss.) was on his feet demanding a quorum call. (Each such roll call consumes about half an hour.) John Bell Williams, an aspiring demagogue from Mississippi, followed by demanding that the calendar be read in full instead of summarized as usual. Eugene Cox, of Georgia, then moved to adjourn "in deference to the memory of the Father of our Country." It took 35 minutes for the House to vote "No."

For five hours, Chairman Lesinski shouted for the recognition to which he was entitled and for five hours Speaker Sam Rayburn, true to Texas after his fashion, looked the other way, recognizing one Southerner after another. On signal, Southerners and Republicans quietly came and went from the chamber to consume time in quorum calls and roll calls.

It was late in the afternoon before Speaker Rayburn allowed the proper business of the day to begin. But having fulfilled his obligations to his fellow Southerners, the Speaker served the Administration's cause well by designating Francis Walter (D, Pa.), a good liberal, to take over the chair.

Representative McConnell, speaking for the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition, offered a substitute to the Powell bill creating an FEPC but limiting it to "investigating and recommending" and restricting punishment in discrimination cases to $500 fines against those who "forcibly" defy the law. Amendments and votes on whether to vote, on how to vote, on how often to vote, followed each new proposal.

Toward midnight, Administration forces increased the pressure to end debate. The coalition continued to delay, hoping to drive the halfhearted home to bed. When it was clear that Administration lines could not be broken, Minority Leader Joe Martin and Dixiecrat Leader Howard Smith finally, at 3:20 a.m., allowed a vote. McConnell's amendment came first. Had this substitute been defeated, the original FEPC bill would finally have come before the House and would almost certainly have been approved. To prevent that, Southerners who had orated against an FEPC of *any kind* lined up in support of McConnell's "voluntary" FEPC. Republicans opposed to a strong FEPC joined them, to compose a total of 221 for a "toothless" FEPC. The real foes of discrimination—128 Democrats, 49 Republicans and one American Labor Party—were a minority of 178 and the McConnell version of FEPC was agreed to. This was the real test.

Only one Southerner, Carl Perkins, of Kentucky, submerged his sectionalism to side with the Administration.

Having prevented the Powell bill from ever reaching the floor by voting to substitute the McConnell bill for it, the next day the Southerners shifted their ground on the final vote. First they supported a motion to recommit the McConnell bill, which would have meant the end of FEPC in the House this year. When that move failed, the Southerners attempted to vote down the "voluntary" bill they had pushed thus far. But their Republican allies were afraid to follow in treachery that deep. House liberals who had fought for a chance to adopt an FEPC with teeth, faced with the choice of a weak bill or none, wisely decided to pass the McConnell bill in order to force action by the Senate. They had no illusions that the GOP bill would prevent discrimination, but felt that passage of this watered-down version was the best way to keep the issue alive. The Powell bill is now certain to come to the Senate floor before mid-March, and the Wherry closure rule, by far the greatest obstacle to civil-rights legislation that exists, will be publicly exposed as such.

McCARRAN LOSES GROUND

Senator Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) is rapidly losing support for his own version of displaced-persons legislation, reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee in January. Just before the Senate acted on the DP bill, three members of the committee—Senators Harley Kilgore (D, W. Va.), Frank Graham (D, N.C.) and Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.)—filed a minority report charging that McCarran's measure "retains many of the restrictive, unfair, and discriminatory provisions of the [present] act, and in fact adds others." Four other Senators, who had signed the original bill, added statements to the minority report advocating amendments liberalizing the committee's bill. This new alliance of seven Senators, a majority of the committee, is tantamount to a reversal of the previous 10-to-3 committee vote which sent the McCarran bill to the Senate floor.

The minority recommended elimination of two discriminatory provisions of the present law which are retained in the McCarran bill:

¶ A requirement that 40 percent of all visas must go to persons from the so-called Baltic areas "grants an unwarranted advantage to certain groups wholly because of national origin and works to the disfavor of Jewish and Catholic groups. In fact, this provision is merely positive proof that the Committee bill requires favoritism because of national origin."

¶ The 30-percent agricultural preference. In addition to discriminating against Jews, who are primarily non-agricultural workers, this restriction threatens a substantial reduction of the total number of all the people who may enter the US under the program to a number below the presently authorized 205,000 visas.

"Because of the enforcement of the 30 percent provision the Displaced Persons Commission has had to cut back shipments from 16,000 to less than 6,000 a month. Over 10,000 otherwise eligible people are already being held back in order to meet the 30 percent requirement and this number will increase by 2,000 each month," according to the committee's report.

A substitute bill, attached to the minority report, provides for: admission of 339,000 DPs; retention of the IRO definition of "displaced person"; admission of 54,744 expellees of German ethnic origin; a cut-off date of January 1, 1949, instead of the present discriminatory December 22, 1946, deadline; removal of the 40-percent "Baltic" preference and the 30-percent agricultural requirement, and more economical administration of the law.

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THE TRUMAN COURT

In a time of treason trials and loyalty tests, the Supreme Court has handed down a decision which increases fears that basic freedoms are in jeopardy. Last week the Court ruled, five to three, that the police may search for evidence of a crime without a warrant in the course of a lawful arrest. Four of the five Justices, who felt they were doing society a favor by affirming the conviction of a "squalid" little stamp defrauder, were Truman appointees. The three dissenters—Frankfurter, Jackson and Black—are the survivors of the Roosevelt Court.

Within the past four years, there have been three important Supreme Court decisions on this controversial issue. In 1947, the Court upheld, five to four, FBI agents who arrested a man and then ransacked his home without a search warrant (Harris v. U. S.). In 1948, the Court seemingly reversed the decision by ruling, five to four, that police must obtain a search warrant when there is reasonable time before the arrest (Trupiano v. U.S.). Then the majority consisted of Justices Frankfurter, Rutledge, Murphy, Jackson and Douglas. As the personnel of the Court changed, so did its opinion on extending the power of the police. Last week Justices Clark and Minton, who replaced Murphy and Rutledge, went along with the conservatives—Chief Justice Vinson, Justices Reed and Burton—as had been predicted. The decision was tantamount to a reversal of the Trupiano verdict.

The Court's gymnastics on the meaning of the Fourth Amendment, which protects individuals from unreasonable search and seizure by police, brought angry protests from Justice Frankfurter. The Court should show "respect for continuity in law," he said. "Especially ought the Court not to reinforce the instabilities of our day by giving fair ground for the belief that law is an expression of chance—for instance, of unexpected changes in the Court's composition and the contingencies in the choice of successors."

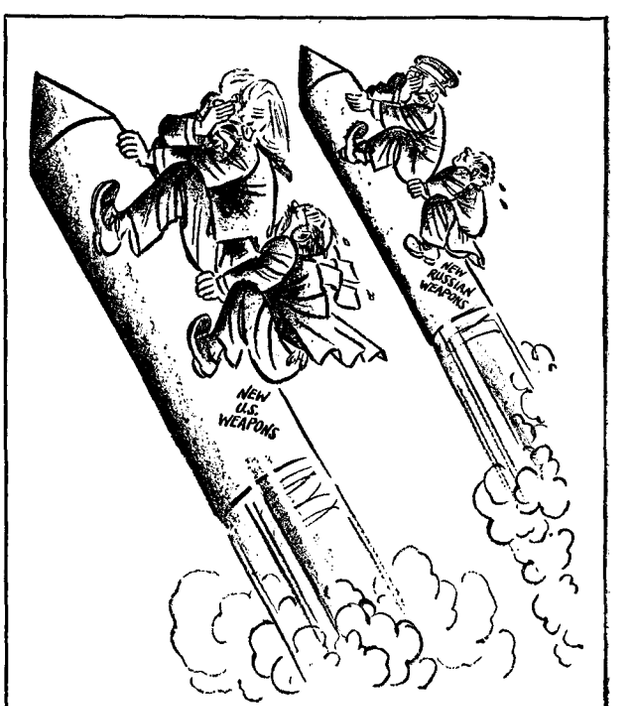
The case involved a dealer in forged and canceled stamps. Officers arrested Albert J. Rabinowitz on a warrant charging him with the sale of four altered postage stamps. During his arrest, the officers searched his office and seized 573 more stamps, which were made the basis of a new charge that he possessed and concealed altered stamps. He was sentenced to serve a year in prison for selling the four stamps. He was fined $1,000 on the second charge. The US Circuit Court in New York dismissed the second charge, only to be reversed by the Supreme Court. The majority opinion, written by Justice Minton, set up a new standard: "The relevant test is not whether it is reasonable to procure a search warrant, but whether the search was reasonable. That criterion in turn depends upon the facts and circumstances—the total atmosphere of the case. . . ." Minton pointed out that the search of the stamp dealer's office was reasonable because he had a prior record of selling altered stamps and because his arrest was legally made on a warrant. "What is a reasonable search is not to be determined by any fixed formula," Minton said. "The recurring questions of the reasonableness of searches must find resolution in the facts and circumstances of each case."

Justice Frankfurter charged that the majority decision gives law officers an "utterly free hand . . . to rummage all over the house" so long as they make a legal arrest. He recalled that President John Adams dated the American Revolution from the James Otis fight against general searches by the British in Massachusetts in 1761. "With all respect, I suggest that it makes a mockery of the Fourth Amendment to sanction search without a search warrant merely because of the legality of an arrest. . . . Arrest under a warrant for a minor or a trumped-up charge has been familiar practice in the past, is a commonplace in the police state of today, and too well known in this country," Frankfurter said. The late Justice Murphy, in his opinion on the Harris case, put it even more cogently: "Lawless methods of law enforcement are frequently effective in uncovering crime, especially where tyranny reigns, but they are not to be countenanced under our form of government."

It is interesting to note that Frankfurter, Black and Jackson have dissented together an unusual number of times since the "Truman Court" went into session last October. On four previous cases, all touching in some way on basic liberties, they were a minority trio. Even with Douglas, who has been recovering from a severe injury and plans to be back on the bench when the Court meets again March 13, they lack a majority. With only one or two exceptions, Minton (who has already written six majority opinions for the Court) and Clark have joined the team of Vinson, Reed and Burton.

ACHESON'S IMPORT PLAN

In the campaign for third-year appropriations to complete the Marshall Plan program, Secretary of State Acheson and Economic Coöperation Administrator Paul Hoffman are laying the groundwork for continuing aid to Europe after 1952. Arguing for $2.95 billion more for ERP next year, Administration spokesmen point out that: European industrial production has risen 20 percent above prewar levels. Agri-



HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

"This'll scare hell out of 'em."

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culture will reach prewar levels this year. But there are 20 million more people to feed and clothe. The European countries whose expenditures for consumer goods totaled $114 billion in 1938, spent only $115 billion in 1949 for the consumer needs of 10 percent more people.

Europe's dollar gap, Hoffman reported, has now been reduced from $7.4 billion, pre-Marshall Plan, to about $4 billion today. "Without continued American aid," he told Congress, "the convalescent Europe of 1950 could again become the vulnerable Europe of 1947. . . . It is just as vital to win this battle for the minds and loyalties of free men as it was to win World War II."

But the mutters in Congress grow louder against "subsidizing socialism" in Britain, and complaints increase that Hoffman has fallen down on his previous promises that ECA would close the dollar gap with Europe and bring about Western European integration.

To distract disgruntled Congressmen from contemplating past shortcomings of ERP as well as to prepare the ground for the post-Marshall Plan period, Secretary Acheson has partially unveiled his newest economic idea: a method of increasing our imports from Europe by substantial amounts.

Beginning with 1953, the plan is to raise our goal of imports from Europe to at least $1.25 billion per year and to provide federal subsidy to those American businesses which suffer from the resultant competition. An American Recovery Program to aid those industries which get hurt in the new import drive is in prospect. Giving Europe capital goods and financial assistance has not solved its problem. Persuading Congress to lower our tariffs has not succeeded. Buying off the industrial pressure groups which are now blocking large-scale imports from Europe seems worth trying.

McCARTHY'S SACRED FILES

J. Edgar Hoover may have to move over to make room for Senator Joseph McCarthy (R. Wis.), who has declared himself a one-man Federal Bureau of Investigation. At a Lincoln Day speech in Reno, Nevada, he said he could name 57 card-carrying Communists on the State Department payroll. When he returned to Washington, he became even braver, charging that the Department harbors 80 subversives and that one other is a White House speech writer. Last week, still refusing to name names, McCarthy managed to delay action on the potato crisis until the Senate passed a resolution calling for an investigation of State Department employees.

In his Nevada speech, McCarthy named four persons "with Communist connections" as examples of others in his secret State Department list. As was often the case during past exposés of the House Un-American Activities Committee, three of the four named are not employed in the State Department, and all issued statements that McCarthy's charges were absurd and slanderous. The fourth, John Service, en route to Calcutta as United States consul, was reëmployed in 1945 after both the security officer of the State Department and the Loyalty Board cleared him of connection with the publication of confidential information which appeared in the magazine *Amerasia.* Secretary of State Dean Acheson said there is "no question of the loyalty and devotion" of his employees.

After a midnight session, for which many Senators were routed out from their homes and dinner parties when Majority Leader Lucas ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to "compel" members to show up, McCarthy still refused to detail his charges. An exasperated Senate finally passed a resolution directing the Foreign Relations Committee to investigate McCarthy's charges and in so doing to subpoena "the complete loyalty and employment files and records of all government employees in the Department of State and such other agencies against whom charges have been heard." Although the directive included files of the FBI as well as the State Department, McCarthy made it clear that *he* would not give the investigating committee the names of *his* informants within the State Department. The Senate, Lucas cracked, is now in effect demanding that the FBI open its files while "the McCarthy files are sacred."

THE BRITISH ELECTION

by Norman MacKenzie

LONDON (by cable)

LABOUR NOW HAS its back to the wall. The closest contest in British history, with the largest poll, failed to yield a decisive mandate. Technically, Labour has won, polling the most votes and winning a bare majority of the seats. But Tory gains of more than 80 seats have led to claims of "a moral victory" and to a stalemate, with the country and Parliament evenly divided.

Both the main parties turned out a maximum vote and, thanks to the recent redistribution of seats in Parliament, there was a most exact reflection of opinion. Yet Labour has been unlucky. The Conservatives with their allies won more than 20 seats by less than a thousand votes each. If Labour had held these, the state of the parties would have been, approximately, Labour 340, Conservatives 270, giving Labour a parliamentary majority of about 70—more than enough for safe tenure. On the other hand, in many constituencies Labour won, although polling less than the combined vote of its Liberal and Conservative opponents. On balance, if the redistribution worked to favor the Tories, the intervention of 474 Liberal candidates aided Labour, though the Liberals elected only eight members and forfeited 313 deposits of £150 apiece.

These eight Liberals, plus four independents, will be the only minority opinion in the new House. No Communists were elected, and defeats included Labour rebels Pritt and Zilliacus. Most of the Labour defeats, moreover, were in marginal seats held by the younger and more radical members, and one election result is a severe setback to the left wing of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Why did the Tories make such headway? Scrutiny of the results shows that the industrial workers were solid for Labour and the increased Labour majorities in many towns contributed to the increase of 1.5 million in the popular vote for Labour. Labour failed, however, to make the expected headway in the rural areas, although it held some

Norman MacKenzie is a member of the staff of the New Statesman and Nation (London). Our readers will remember his series of four articles on the British General Election, beginning in the issue of December 26.

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rural seats won in the last election and increased its poll in others. But the greatest Tory gains were among the middle-class voters. Labour lost ground in the "dormitory constituencies," especially around London, where the commuters' vote is decisive and was attracted by Tory promises of lower taxes and a relaxation of controls and by Tory exploitation of petty grievances. There hasn't been any real swing away from Labour: there wasn't any Tory landslide, but the Tory machine brought out every anti-Labour vote.

Now, at a time when a strong government is needed in Britain to lead the country through the difficult months ahead, there will be an unfortunate period of indecision. It is clearly impossible for Labour to press forward with controversial legislation—especially further nationalization—nor can it easily take unpopular measures, however necessary they seem. It will, for instance, be very hard to work out an adequate wage policy, since the union rank and file will take less kindly than ever to a new wage freeze now that there is a prospect that the Tories may be in power before long. Indeed, industrial disputes may be a serious problem in the coming months.

For the moment, the Labour Government will go on. The budget must be passed by the end of April, and much depends on it. With a new election in the offing, Labour will be tempted to introduce a "popular" budget and to postpone drastic policies designed to deal with coming economic problems. Yet a further "bonfire of controls," and tax cuts, would seem to be concessions to Tory policy and might seriously weaken the planning machinery and the economic defenses of the Welfare State.

This is Labour's dilemma: Another election seems inevitable within a year; is Labour now to do what it feels essential for national recovery, or is it to do what may win votes? Both Attlee and Churchill will be driven to maneuver for position. Both will be bent on winning the votes of the Liberals to obtain a decisive majority. It is unlikely that the Liberals will be able to afford many candidates if the election comes soon. If all the Liberal votes were successfully wooed by the Tories, they would gain about 70 seats; if Labour can win the Liberal votes, it will have a sweeping majority. In reality, the Liberal vote would be split both ways. Speculation now centers, therefore, on how the Liberal vote will divide in the absence of Liberal candidates. The party that wins the most votes from the Liberals will have a Parliamentary majority.

Since the Labour Party desperately needs those Liberal votes, will it adopt a more moderate policy, abandoning further nationalization and perhaps even postponing taking over the steel industry in order to conciliate Liberal opinion? There is bound to be disagreement on this in Labour's ranks. One section will claim that the middle class will be won back by more inspiring leadership rather than by vote-catching concessions and that Labour must stand or fall by clear Socialist policy. This group is broadly represented by the Labourites who produced the pamphlet, "Keeping Left," who believe it is disastrous at this stage for Britain to abandon the present economic policy, designed to maintain full employment, check inflation, control wages and profits and plan capital investment. The Cabinet may decide to mark time, neither pushing ahead with the program nor beating a definite retreat.

At this time both parties deprecate any discussion of the possibility of a coalition. Yet there are some here who consider that a coalition is in the cards if the international situation further deteriorates. The difference between the parties on foreign affairs is already slight and the effect on the stalemate will probably be to narrow the gap on domestic affairs. Yet the electorate certainly did not vote for a coalition. On the contrary, the country is divided more sharply than ever on party lines—and, indeed, on class lines.

Nobody can be satisfied with the election results. It is particularly unfortunate that at a critical moment in British politics the hazards of the political system and the single-member constituencies should fail to produce a clear majority and a stable government. It means that grave problems cannot be faced properly: they cannot be met by seeking to work out a compromise policy, because the nature of the economic problems is such that they must be answered either by Socialist measures or by a return to Tory policies. A hybrid approach is unworkable, and uncertainty is harmful to the country.

In spite of its setbacks, Labour has no real cause for disappointment at the public's support. To maintain a clear lead in the popular vote after five years of austerity and a continuing economic crisis due to external reasons is a tribute to Labour's genuine achievements and to the success of its domestic policy. Yet nothing can conceal the fact that the Labour Party has reached a crisis in its career. Its future as a Government now depends on its ability to win Liberal votes between now and the next election; and that, in turn, must produce a crisis of policy.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Few Western Europeans were more than mildly shocked by the Klaus Fuchs affair. Spying is too old, too common a story on the Continent, where little secrets are regularly peddled to the police by the *concierge*, the *portiere*, the *serano*. The discovery of a double agent leaking the big secrets of a place like Harwell did not especially surprise Parisians, for example; they had heard only recently from the head of the French government the story of a triple agent who won the confidence of the Chief of the General Staff.

In Eastern Europe, of course, the hero who turns out to have been a villain all along is by now a commonplace figure in current political folklore; in France and Italy absolutes have so far gone out of style in political morality that the difference between heroism and villainy tends to blur. Too many Europeans have had to feel too many changes in moral temperature in too many kinds of war. By the spring of 1950, even treason has become just another relative, scarcely less time-bound than the current tastes of Parisian *haute couture*.

Some of the treasons of other years have become the new look in current politics. The definition of loyalty de-

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pends more than ever on who has the power to decide what is black and what is white. Courts of the Fourth French Republic are opening prison doors for men who, ten years ago, helped murder the Third. The government of the First Italian Republic is closing prison doors on men who broke rules, including that of self-preservation, to help create democracy. Greeks are being tortured to death on Makronesos; Spaniards are being executed in batches. In Germany and elsewhere, the villains of yesteryear have come to understand the political wisdom of the formula with which Hemingway closed his *Death in the Afternoon*—last and get the work done. On a number of recent occasions in France, the accused in treason trials have denounced the accusers.

The Fuchs affair proved nothing to Western Europeans beyond what they already knew. This knowledge is that cold war is total and that the most secret places of the purest science are not safe. It is also, however, that the old-fashioned concept of "universal science" now means practically the domination of what *Le Monde* of Paris calls "only two or three great powers." The moral of the affair is, according to the same vigorously rightist paper, the need to reach "agreement on a serious, universal control over atomic energy and research."

Le Monde and practically all the other organs of non-Communist opinion in Western Europe recognize the great difficulties. Nevertheless, the news from America which has had the worst press in recent months was not the announcement of the work on the hydrogen bomb, but the declarations of President Truman and Secretary Acheson that it would be continued without another effort to make a deal with the Soviets.

And it is typical of the steady drift away from Atlanticism which began last autumn (see "Outside America," November 28, December 5, December 26) that the cooling toward American policy was most pronounced on the political Right in countries like France. The reason then and the one now are the same: a growing belief that hysterical exaggeration is creeping into American concepts of national interest, and that, as a result, Washington is embarking on a policy of all-out Americanism not only unrealistic but unnecessarily dangerous to Western Europe.

Neither the American people's "self-criticism," of which Acheson spoke approvingly, nor its "self-reproach," which he warned against, has been particularly noticeable on this side of the Atlantic. The shift from the Truman Doctrine containment to the Acheson program of "areas of strength" may be a change in policies of defense, but from the Western European viewpoint it seems that the change is in the direction of exposing America's allies to even greater danger, without strengthening America itself.

The *Paris-Presse*, a vigorous supporter of the Bidault government and a fellow traveler with Gaullism, asked if "prudence did not suggest playing both the card of military security with the United States, and the card of neutrality in case of a conflict?" *Le Monde* went so far as to propose the neutralization of Western Europe because the prospect of atomic destruction of European cities apparently "makes little difference to American concepts. There has always been, over there in America, a temptation to sacrifice Europe in case of conflict. Since Western Europe finds itself militarily the most exposed point on the globe, would it not be the wisest policy to leave to it a certain autonomy which would reduce its chances of being drawn into the conflict?"

When the State Department objected to this "one-way-street security," the newspaper not only refused to back down, but brought out some of the feeling against Atlanticism which has been boiling up since the statements of Acheson and General Bradley last autumn that the Soviet atom bomb would not change American policy. It wrote:

> There are many ways of implementing a policy. Is the Atlantic Part really the best way to discourage an eventual aggressor? Does it not give him impressive advantages on the immediate terrain of the Cold War? Does it not involve European policy in the insoluble contradictions of German rearmament? . . . Are not the Americans fooling themselves about the best contribution that Europe can bring to the common defense?

In general, the French Right has welcomed America's decision to prop up Bao Dai, the puppet emperor of the Viet Nam. The fly in the Indo-Chinese ointment for the French Right is the knowledge that Bao Dai's tiny outside chance of success depends on economic and social changes amounting to a revolution. In any event, the old-fashioned colonialism is finished; and any new-fashioned colonialism will be the servant of American, not French, capital. If outsiders other than the Russians can do business with the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Mingh Hoi, they will not be the Parisian carpetbaggers in the train of Admiral George Thierry d'Argenlieu, General Leclerc and Léon Pignon; they will be the big businessmen of Truman's Fourth Pointism.

The French Left is, of course, passionately opposed to an American policy which it considers a repeat performance of Vichy in 1940. Claude Bourdet, editor of *Combat*, the best leftist newspaper in Paris, has been carrying on a bitter public controversy with François Mauriac of *Le Figaro*. His point is that:

> Most Frenchmen do not feel that they are at war with the republican government of the Viet Nam, especially since they have begun to find out about the lies they have been told. No sentimental blackmail, such as telling us that strikes to prevent arms shipments amount to stabbing our boys in the back, will make this war a really French war. The French people tolerate this war because they feel they can do nothing else, because there has been a tremendous conspiracy of lies to prove to them that they must tolerate it.

But the French Left is no longer a dependable barometer in politics. On the day Guy Mollet, general secretary of the Socialist Party, said publicly that the Socialist ministers had quit the government because the two dangers—Communism and Gaullism—had been removed, General Charles de Gaulle also spoke publicly; in his first speech in Paris in a year, he hinted broadly that he might make a deal with Premier Bidault's MRP. A French rightist government headed by de Gaulle, or even including him or his henchmen, might make France (hence Western Europe) "an area of strength" rather different from the one Acheson intended. The "calm, steady, persistent foreign policy" of the US, which cannot be disturbed for changes in the moral and military weather, seems to be powerfully building up anti-Americanism in France and, hence, Western Europe. PERCY WINNER

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stamina. I turn my head so that I cannot see his pain, so that he cannot see my grief. . . .

I am a liberal. I abhor smallpox. But in my abhorrence of smallpox I find myself allied to those very elements of society that I have always distrusted and often despised.

Nobody ever says that. It's creviced with all kinds of fallacies.

1. *I am a liberal. I abhor smallpox.* In this case juxtaposition certainly implies connection: abhorrence of smallpox is an attribute of liberalism. But we know that isn't so, that there is no connection between liberalism and the abhorrence of smallpox.

2. *I abhor smallpox.* Who doesn't? But why make a point of it? Why this obsessive need to put yourself on record? And how much time can you afford to devote to the abhorrence of smallpox? Even if you spent as little as a half-hour a day on it, wouldn't your life be seriously distorted?

3. *But in my abhorrence of smallpox I find myself allied to those very elements* . . . This is sheer nonsense. Alliances aren't fortuitous; they are expressions of intent. You don't "find" yourself allied any more than you "find" yourself married. It may be a mistake, but it's not an accident.

Then what ails my friend? If his self-styled incubus can be disposed of with a casual sweep of the logical broom, how does one account for his lamentable condition? Obviously his troubles do not lie within the luminous boundaries of reason. For example, he seems to have been terribly worried about maintaining his identity, his "position." But why haven't his adversaries of the Right and Left been similarly preoccupied? In a recent Congressional vote on a foreign issue (it doesn't matter what issue—that's exactly the point) three New York City Representatives voted Nay. One was a Democrat who has, however, always enjoyed American Labor Party support. Another has followed every twist and turn of the Communist Party line with contortionist dexterity. The third was an unregenerate conservative who made his political reputation, such as it is, by conducting a shameless prewar witch-hunt in the colleges of New York—a witch-hunt that did put a Communist instructor in jail for perjury, but completely ignored an outspokenly fascist college professor who was, in fact, to broadcast for Hitler during the war. All three Representatives voted the same way on an important policy bill—*without embarrassment.* They were not afraid that they would be compromised by their association. They did not consider themselves associated.

Only the liberal is dismayed by appositions of this sort. Why? The Communist changes his "position" as casually as a trapeze artist. Reactionaries can be just as mercurial. The imperialist of yesterday becomes the isolationist of today without any noticeable *Sturm und Drang.* The apologists of Free Enterprise vote gaudy subsidies for Maine's potato farmers. Nor can these paradoxes be marked off as political hypocrisies. Both on the Left and on the Right there are profound convictions that are never violated. But these convictions, being profound, have nothing to do with the relative superficialities of "program" or "position." They are, in fact, not at all political. They deal with the nature of man, and how much say he has in his destiny.

The Communist, we know, believes that man has very little say in his destiny. He redefines freedom as submission—submission to the dialectical current of history—"the recognition of necessity." The Communist believes in economic determinism. He believes in the supremacy of class interests.

On the face of it the conservative has an altogether different view of things. Man has an immense, an almost unqualified control over his destiny. Success is universally attainable; anyone can make good if socialistic government doesn't mess up the American Way. But what *is* success? Success is—ah—well—*success* . . . the ranch house in the suburbs, the good car, the devoted wife . . . getting what you want out of life. And what's more (this, far more confidently), the only reason a man will work is to achieve success! To get what he wants, to keep what he has got!

Somehow or other, success is never defined in terms of—oh—the Golden Rule or the Brotherhood of Man, or any of the other ideals to which the conservative sincerely and often actively subscribes. In fact the conservative seems merely to have substituted personal for class interest. Whether he realizes it or not, he believes in the inherent, intransigent and apparently limitless selfishness of man. Sometimes that selfishness is enlightened; that is to say, a man may forgo a small bone today for a larger, juicier one tomorrow. And there are rules in the dogfight we call life—rules that must be obeyed if you don't want to go to jail, or to hell, or to both. But those are limitations upon the *expression* of selfishness, not upon its influence or applicability. Success is a personal, never a social achievement. A man may slave for his children; it is because they are *his*, and let other men slave for theirs. Man being man, that is the way it has got to be, and any tampering with this primordial condition can lead only to socialistic chaos.

You might say, then, that the Communist takes a mechanical view of life and the conservative takes a biological, or more specifically, Darwinian, view. Or—the Communist thinks that man is pushed to his destiny, and the conservative thinks he is pulled. But is there

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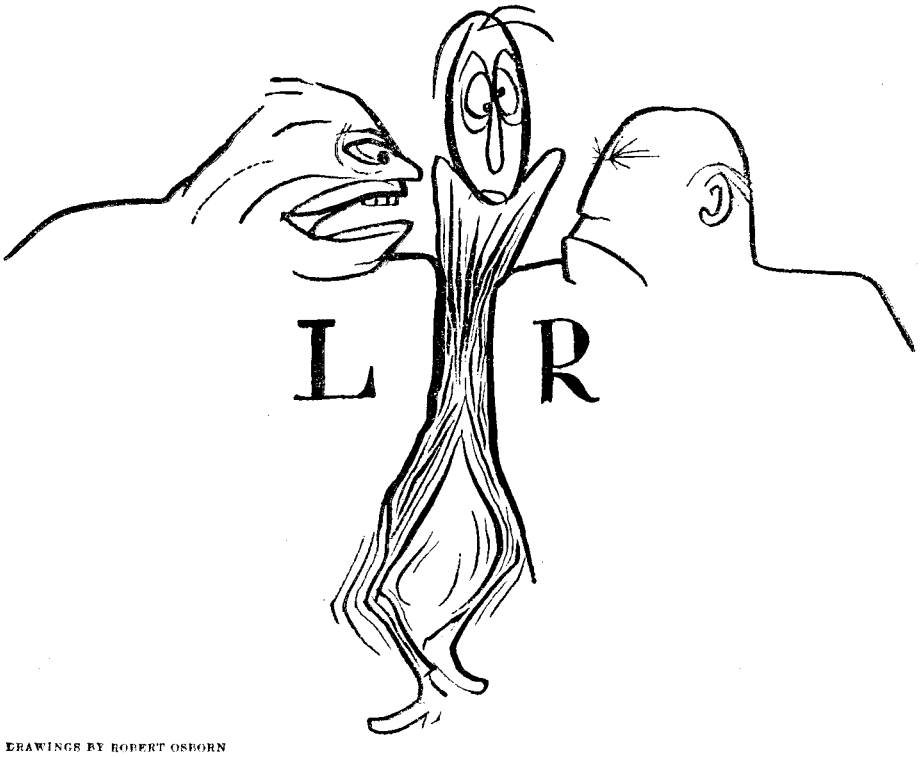

DRAWINGS BY ROBERT OSBORN

really a great deal of difference between the electric goad under the tail and the carrot in front of the nose? A mule is a mule.

Doesn't the liberal believe that man is pushed? Certainly. Slums, disease, poverty predispose thousands to delinquency, for example, and we ought to get rid of those evils. (But the relationship between, let us say, poverty and crime is a *statistical* one; you cannot attribute the brutalization of any *one* person to his environment.) Is man pulled? Sure. We'd never get anything done without incentives. (But these incentives vary widely, and the fact that they are incentives does not necessarily make them ungenerous. The altruist receives satisfaction from his altruism, the hero from his heroism; it does *not* follow that self-satisfaction is the motive for altruism or heroism.) Pushed or pulled, says the liberal, man nevertheless keeps his feet and walks forward under his own power and by his own volition. And he does not walk alone.

Therein lies the difference between the liberal and his adversaries of the Right and Left. It is not a difference in "program," and the liberal who predicates his difference on program is bound to be confounded as conservatives and Communists veer temporarily toward him. The liberal is different in that he believes in at least a limited freedom of choice—and that means choice of ends as well as means. He believes in altruism. He believes that the human race is a community, if not yet a fraternity. He *respects* man.

The Communist does not. He has some respect for the capitalist, none at all for the workingman. The worker is a dupe, a pawn, who must be led every inch of the dialectical way—"educated." Actually, you can't blame the Communists for feeling as they do. Respect implies responsibility. If a man is, as the solacing phrase goes, a "product of his environment," you can no more respect him than you can iron ingots. (Properly speaking, you cannot hate him either, and it is a fact that in the early days of the Russian Revolution Lenin cautioned his followers against hating the people they were forced to murder. But this particular discipline seems to have been relaxed over the years.)

On the other hand, it isn't easy to respect the conservative ideal either—the man who has "made good." Even the conservative senses this. It isn't enough to make good; you must use power and wealth usefully. The conservative ideal is a man who has spent sixty years of his life accumulating his pile, and the rest of his years dispensing it philanthropically. During his last years he completely reverses his field. And he knows it. But all he can do is grunt in that gruff old way which fools no one—the old rascal—"Well, you can't take it with you." A number of movies have been built around this situation. You can expect a great many more. (As a matter of fact, a pretty good case could be made for the thesis that Scrooge is *the* conservative ideal.) But no movie is going to solve the most serious conflict in the conservative philosophy: the conflict between make-good and do-good.

The liberal respects man. He believes in man. He believes in him not as a dialectical pawn, nor as a refugee from the jungle. He believes in him as a distinguishably human being. He believes in society. He believes in it not as an instrument of suppression or of progress, nor as a device for controlling or arbitrating the beastliness of man. Nor as a convenience. Nor as an invention. He believes in society as an aspect of man's humanity—source and outgrowth, flower and root.

What makes man that way? One might as well ask, "Why Mind?" "Why Life?" "Why Matter?" "Why Motion?" Strictly speaking, none of these Sunday-sermon topics is legitimate. That is the way things have happened. And altruism is no more incredible than breathing, breathing than gravitation. Nothing explains anything. Matter does not explain mind; sex does not explain love; biology does not explain society.

In fact, biology explains a lot less than we've been brought up to think. It is true that sight has great sur-

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vival value, but once a man has eyes he can use them for anything he pleases. He can paint pictures that have no survival value—in any sense of the phrase. More important, the sighted person is not a blind man plus sight. He is an altogether different person. Similarly, the social being is not an individual *in* society; that is the definition of the unsocial being. If anything, the social being is society in the individual. This may be the contributive insight of our century. Just as the eighteenth was the mechanical century and the nineteenth the biological century, so the twentieth may be the social century. If that's the case—and we've still got half a century to go—there'll be some changes made. You can expect even so monumental a nineteenth-century achievement as psychoanalysis—Darwinism extended to the mind—to undergo eclipse or profound modification. You may expect the current childish and undignified quest for private religious salvation to run its course. You may expect liberalism to become increasingly confident and expressive.

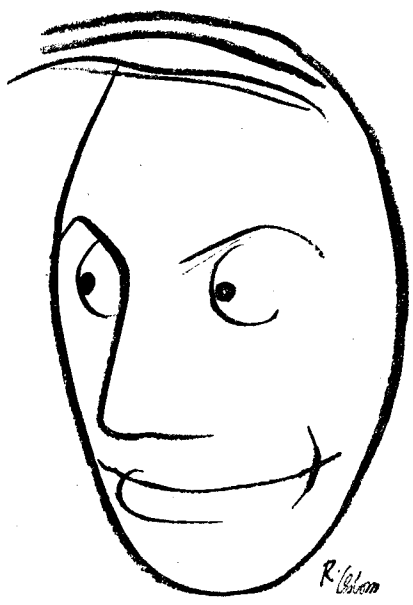
Diversity of human goals, freedom of choice, altruism, the social nature of man: for the liberal they are facts, not hypotheses or utopian aspirations. Considered collectively, they make up the distinguishing character of liberalism. The liberal who remains true to them need never fear the contamination of the Left or Right.

Will this prescription bring the sick liberal instantly to his feet? Probably not. His present disorders are, fortunately, symptomatic rather than essential, but a symptom can be almost as noxious as the disease itself. Alcoholism is a symptom of deep psychic disorders, but before the alcoholic can be cured he must stop drinking. Similarly, the liberal's preoccupation with Communism cannot be airily dismissed. The burden of disavowal has become too onerous, the repudiation of past associations too demanding. The history of this preoccupation has a certain clinical charm. But so far as treatment goes, the future is more important than the past. And most important of all is the present.

It is a tragic blunder for the liberal to be mousetrapped into an anti-Communist position. It is a tragic blunder for him to be mousetrapped into an anti-anything position. The premises of liberalism—consider them again—are all positive. The conservative and the Communist are both at their best as a member of the minority opposition. In fact, both can be very useful to the liberal in that role. Put either of them into power, and the result is ruinous. But the genius of liberalism is best expressed when the liberal is in power. To allow himself, therefore, to be cast in the role of opposition is a sure route to self-annihilation. The primary tactical principle of the Communists has always been: dominate or destroy. Negative domination is a highly efficient technique of destruction. That is why the Communist will go to great extremes to alienate the liberal, to force a fight. In a political dogfight he can't lose. The role of underdog is immensely gratifying to him, ideologically, tactically and psychologically. Ideologically, because it bears out Marxist predictions; tactically, because martyrdom is his greatest asset; psychologically, because it vindicates all the bitterness, sadism and insecurity that predispose him to Communism in the first place. But the liberal is a *friendly* person. He does not enjoy *rancor*. He wants to work *with* people. He wanted to work with the Communists before the war, during the war, and immediately after the war. He is a trusting person. He believes in sincerity and good intentions. He is a sanguine person. Antagonisms make him bilious. My friend is very bilious.

All of which leads to several categorical conclusions. When Communists hold a "cultural conference," liberals do *not* hold a counter-cultural conference. When Communists march down Eighth Avenue on May Day, liberals do *not* march down Fifth Avenue. When the Communists commission Paul Robeson to sing for civil liberties, liberals have *no* part in any protest demonstration. Liberals do not carry on in this infantile way. They do not rise to the Communist bait. In the words of the sidewalk psychologist, "They do not give them that satisfaction."

The liberal spends his time and energy doing what comes naturally: beating the drum for liberalism. He believes in at least limited freedom of will, and he tries to extend its limits. He believes in the diversity of human goals, and arbitrary restrictions in this respect meet with his sharpest disapproval. He believes in altruism, and he believes that man should be sufficiently liberated from his biological obligations to be able to practise it. He believes in the sodality of the human race, but he notes, regretfully, that a great many of its details remain to be worked out.



In other words he has a full-time, self-perpetuating job on his hands. And the next time the "Reds" and the "Reactionaries" start swinging at each other, I hope he has sense enough not to step in between them. We lose more damn liberals that way. . . .

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *"A Distinct Choice"*

NOW WE MAY gorge ourselves with a fear transcending all other fears. Nor need it be a top secret. We have been worrying to the point of hysteria about Russia loosing a bomb on Washington or New York. Now we can turn our minds to something different.

Dr. Immanuel Velikovsky, one of the founders of the University of Jerusalem, has inspired a terror so beyond imagination that we may be able to shake off such trivial fears as those of the A-bomb and the H-bomb. According to an Associated Press dispatch and several recent magazine articles, on at least two occasions the planet Venus, when she was an adolescent comet, came so close to Earth as to effect physical changes. He offers evidence from the books of Exodus and Isaiah and Homer's *Iliad*. He accepts as a fact the parting of the Red Sea at the time of the retreat of the children of Israel from Egypt. He tells how Earth's surface was reddened from being touched by the gaseous tail of Venus. He quotes from ancient records and legends to prove that, in the wars between Venus and Earth, the latter almost succumbed to the great heat that was engendered.

If we do not know when an H-bomb will do it, neither do we know when Venus or another huge comet will send us to our final destination, whatever it may be. It appears that Venus was late in entering the solar system and may not yet have settled down as a wife and mother. The very title of Dr. Velikovsky's book, *Worlds in Collision*, which will shortly be published, is enough to scare out of us the fears that we have been cherishing. There have been at least two major upheavals on Earth caused by the passionate approach of the planet with the lovely name.

Venus seems to divide her affection between Earth and Mars. The effect on the cosmos if Venus should choose to sit in Mars's lap rather than on that of Earth is not predictable. But we want no more exchanges of "major electrical discharges" with the lady, as Dr. Velikovsky suggests have occurred in times past. We wish the best of luck to the lady so far as Mars is concerned.

It is probably only a coincidence, but recently John Erskine produced such a book as only he can write. He entitled it *Venus, the Lonely Goddess*. I read it with pleasure, but that was before I heard about the philanderings that have been going on between Venus and Earth. If Venus, the goddess, was lonely, even though married to Mars, it could be that Venus, the planet, is frustrated. If Venus, the planet, is as feminine as she sounds, and is intent upon acquiring a mate, then all of our scientists, including Americans and Russians, should devote their exclusive attention to making a match between Venus and Mars. That would leave those of us on Earth free to entertain such minor worries as the hydrogen bomb.

One thing is certain. If the hussy Venus is making eyes at us, either with or without honorable intentions, the result could be beyond calculation. Both Venus and Earth would be chaff in the hands of cosmic forces that are uncontrollable. It might chance that Venus would be nostalgic for those places on Earth which she formerly visited. Or, she might have studied her guidebook to discover what might be most worth visiting—the North American continent or the Soviet Republics. To drop in on either would be a smash hit which neither would enjoy, despite its being a new experience. Or the same visit might strain to the utmost the hospitality of both.

In the circumstances it seems more than a little childish for Russia and the United States to continue a race in armaments that would melt into molten metal before the ardency of the amorous Venus. It has happened that enemies can spontaneously become friends when a present danger threatens both. If I had to choose between the cold war of Stalin and the wooing of Venus, I would take my chances with the former. Perhaps, without knowing what he was doing, Dr. Velikovsky has conferred a great boon upon all of us. He has given us something to think about; something even to pray about. Appreciating what Venus could do to all of us on the basis of recent discoveries, perhaps we shall have sense enough to put our heads between our hands and do some real thinking about universal and lasting peace.

The problem of uniting in good will in order to resist the succubine Venus is something that President Truman, Marshal Stalin and the Prime Minister of Great Britain could sit down to talk about without any prejudices or predilections or concern, except only the preservation and well-being of humankind. A fresh start, dissociated from anything that has happened within the experience of recent generations, might conceivably lead to an accomplishment that is not beyond the reach of imaginative and bold men. Mankind has fumbled badly since the defeat of Japan. Individually and by groups, we have staggered about in all directions. We have proved, over and over again, that we can achieve the impossible. And yet we have not seriously attempted to do what, not only is possible, but overwhelmingly desirable—to live in peace and good fellowship with our neighbors.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE: TWO REPORTS

FOUR-STAR DIPLOMACY

by Albert Z. Carr

GENERAL CLAY'S apologia for his administration in Germany strikingly reveals the risks which this country has taken in permitting Military Governments to operate divorced from, or at least unresponsive to, the central policy-making group in Washington. An essential fact of Clay's story is that he was not directly subject to the orders of the Secretary of State, while the War Department, to which he *was* accountable, usually supported him in controversies over policy. Few satraps of modern times have had a greater degree of autonomy than he. Under these conditions it was fortunate that our commander in Germany was as conscious of responsibility as Clay's book shows him to have been. A lesser man might have tried to turn crisis into war.

DECISION IN GERMANY, by General Lucius D. Clay (Doubleday and Company; $4.50).

Clay used his great power, nevertheless, to give Germany marked advantages over Allied countries in economic reconstruction and to shape the character of the present West German state. He appears to be satisfied, almost defiantly satisfied, with his handiwork. Occasionally he confesses to error, but only in connection with secondary points and not with the sensational reversal of American policy under his administration. In 1945, when he was made Military Governor, Americans believed that Germany's war criminals were to be punished, her people denazified and democratized, her cartels broken up, a substantial number of her plants transferred to Allied countries to aid their reconstruction, and her disarmament assured. In 1949, when he resigned, only a few hundred war criminals had been given serious sentences in the American zone; former Nazis had been restored to high posts in government and industry; the democratization program had collapsed; great concentrations of industry remained in the hands of cartel operators; reparations had been reduced to triviality; arms plants had been retained intact; and agitation had begun to reëstablish the German army.

Administrative necessity is Clay's justification for many of his controversial decisions, but in some instances one may ask where necessity left off and personal preference began. In a cable to the State Department Clay contended that his sudden suspension of reparations to all the Allies in the spring of 1946 was forced upon him by Soviet violations of the Potsdam Agreement. The surrounding facts strongly suggest that these violations gave him an excuse for doing what he wanted to do anyway. A similar impression is made by his account of the Four-Power negotiations on currency reform which preceded the Soviet blockade of Berlin. Through the thick gloss of official reasoning there is still visible an inner conviction that Germany's quick economic recovery was more important than any consideration of European politics. The Russians were angered by what they considered American pressure, the French were alarmed for their security, the British were disturbed by competition of German exports: Clay pointed with satisfaction to the fact that Germany was becoming stronger under his ministrations. He took the position that the proper, and sole, sphere of his interest was Germany. If his superiors felt that he was going too far or too fast, it was up to them to say so. The State Department was in fact disposed at some points to challenge Clay, but his carefully cultivated relations with Congress and the press enabled him repeatedly to beat back opposition.

Criticism may have irritated Clay, but it did not shake him. Referring to a report prepared by a government investigating committee which vigorously exposed his failure to break up the cartels, he says: "I do not propose to reply to

(Continued on page 18)

ECA AND THE WELFARE STATE

by William Harlan Hale

THE AMERICAN radio correspondent abroad, hurrying from capital to capital in search of news nuggets that will fit his daily broadcast time, does not as a rule live a thoughtful life. If he does try to think—and independently—there is the danger that he will not long remain a radio correspondent.

Yet Howard K. Smith, since 1941 one of America's most familiar evening voices, has managed amid his duties as CBS European news chief to study and ponder as well as to see and report. He has conveyed much of his searching, liberal spirit in his broadcasts. Now he has assembled all that he has learned and felt about Europe—and about America's place in it—in the form of a report that soons turns out to be a tract. And the tract will startle many listeners who have heard Smith's pleasant voice, but not its overtones.

THE STATE OF EUROPE, by Howard K. Smith (Alfred A. Knopf; $3.75).

The book starts out on the conventional grand-tour pattern of successful modern journalists abroad, and includes, accordingly, whole sections on Andorra, Liechtenstein and San Marino only because a well-conducted tour ought to include them. It is sprinkled with mentions of Smith's meetings with Cabinet ministers—a device which serves chiefly to prove that they have not been spending all their time with John Gunther. Although he says little about the smaller Western nations that is new, he offers many a discerning touch. Of the stolid Swiss confederacy he remarks that "Switzerland's only serious problem is the rest of Europe." Of Anglophobe Eire he says in passing, "What the sea is to Scandinavia and the mountains are to Switzerland, the Tragic Experience is to Eire"—*i.e.*, its source of sustenance. Portugal's corrupt overseas empire provides that decaying

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nation with "unearned fat to lubricate its downward course."

It is when he approaches the complex of big powers—and those that have just lost their bigness—that Smith gets down to business. For that is what his book is really about: the immense new shifts of force across the European map, and the impact of the United States on them. Here the globetrotter emerges as a widely read historian, a skilled economist and an aggressive champion of the liberal Left.

Taking grim, hard-working Britain as his first example, he argues that Europe is not suffering merely from postwar maladjustments but from a permanent crisis that calls for basic overhaul. This crisis, brought on by tightening foreign markets, loosening colonial empires, aging industrial plants, and the resultant loss of middle-class economic "fat" to ease the friction between Right and Left, dates back in its malignancy to the war. But Smith, looking under the surface, argues that it was certain to come anyhow. He points out that economic revival in most West European nations proceeded much more quickly after the last war (even before ERP) than it did after the first—a fact which does not alter his thesis that what has become obsolete is the whole stock-in-trade of commercial ideals handed down from the nineteenth century. What's more, he says, the great majority of Europe's people know they are obsolete. Officially, we in America don't. But in attempting to revive them as winning weapons against Communism, we are laying our hands on a blunderbuss that may go off in our own faces.

The root problem of our times is that Western Europe has been brought to a state of social contraction and polarization, while Eastern Europe is emerging from its agricultural past into the full expansiveness that was ours during our own industrial revolution. This, at any rate, is Smith's theme. I am not convinced that he has fully fortified it, and sometimes he strikes me as being so bowled over by the sheer newness of the experiments behind the Iron Curtain as to lack perspective on their actual achievements so far. He looks on Poland's economic future as "brighter than any other in Europe." I wonder. Yet, after reading his first-hand demonstration of what has been done economically in the countries east of Vienna and the Adriatic, I suspect that readers not wholly blinded by prejudice will agree that "four years of 'People's Democracy' have probably yielded Eastern Europe a solid net gain."

The State of Europe is worth reading simply for its pungent, non-hysterical portrait of Soviet methods and mentality. Its picture takes us back over the whole course of Communist doctrine as to Western capitalist behavior, reminding us of the occasions on which that doctrine was in fact borne out by our actions, and then retracing the steps by which it eventually fell afoul of reality. As a man who has witnessed obsessive Soviet performances at many international conferences, Smith can vividly document his description of the Kremlin as the prisoner of its own dogma. In day-to-day foreign relations, he says, the Soviet Union has become its own worst enemy.

Not that this absolves us in America or makes our path smooth. Smith lays heavily into our preference for rightist allies in Germany, Greece, and points east and west. He suspects the motives of our leading banker-statesmen and the uses to which we are putting the dollar's power in penetrating other people's economies. "Russian influence over other governments is crassly visible," he writes; "American influence is like an iceberg; only the smaller part can be seen by the naked eye."

Western Europe, he says, does not only need the dollar. It wants and needs the Welfare State. And his analysis makes him feel that the United States needs it too. And in this kind of state, with its popular freedoms, its economic guarantees and its moral power, he sees the only rival that can out-challenge Communism for the world's loyalty without appeal to war. Here Smith becomes a fighting tractarian. His closing chapter states a liberal's creed with world-minded spaciousness. It strikes me as a conclusion of sweeping challenge and high power. The CBS man's report, which began as a European guidebook, ends as a call to American action.

William Harlan Hale, former senior editor of the New Republic, writes on international affairs and is the author of The March of Freedom and a forthcoming biography of Horace Greeley.

(Continued from page 17)

ill-founded charges." In the same spirit of cold righteousness he accounts for the action that cut the props from under the denazification program:

> The decision to turn over to the Germans further denazification was controversial when it was made. Factual analysis of the administrative problem was sufficient to convince me that there was no other solution to this problem.

One can only wish that the General had submitted his factual analysis to the judgment of the reader.

The book dwells at length on Clay's running struggle with the Soviet command in Germany, climaxed by the blockade of Berlin and the brilliant achievements of the airlift. It is plain, however, that the real issue of policy confronting Clay was not whether to stand up to the Russians. That went without saying. The real issue was whether the Military Government should encourage the restoration to power of the old industrial rulers of Germany in a political framework shaped to their liking. In spite of Clay's carefully correct documentary position, it cannot be doubted that his decisions as a whole played into the hands of German big business.

Clay appears in the book cloaked in the ostensible non-partisanship of the military man, but something of his private outlook may be inferred from his taste in advisers: on the political side, Robert Murphy; on the economic side, William Draper; among elder statesmen, Herbert Hoover, whose reports on Germany did so much to win Congressional support for Clay. His highest tributes go to these arch-conservatives. There is a passage, too, in which he speaks of a hurried trip to the United States in October, 1948, "primarily to keep a promise to Cardinal Spellman to speak at the annual dinner of the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation."

It may be that in view of Soviet intransigence no administrator who did less than Clay to reverse our German policy of 1945 could have survived the pressures on him from Congress, the Chiefs of Staff and other agencies. But Clay seems to have gone willingly along the road marked out for him. When historians assign responsibility for the emergence of a powerful new centralized and cartel-ridden German state in

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the 1950's a major share must go to General Clay, and his book can be cited in evidence.

Albert Z. Carr is the author of several books in the fields of history and political science, including Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship. *He was assistant to Donald Nelson on the War Production Board and served on the staff of the Inter-Allied Reparations Commission.*

CLOUD-SITWELL-LAND

THE CANTICLE OF THE ROSE, by Edith Sitwell (Vanguard; $3.75).

ENGLAND RECLAIMED AND OTHER POEMS, by Sir Osbert Sitwell (Atlantic-Little, Brown; $2.75).

IN THE PREFACE to her collected poems (*The Canticle of the Rose*), Edith Sitwell explains one of her images thus:

> The reason I said "The morning light creaks" is this: After rain, the early light seems as if it does not run quite smoothly. Also, it has a quality of great hardness, seems to present a physical obstacle to the shadows—and this gives one the impression of a creaking sound because it is at once hard and uncertain.

Should we quarrel with the demand here made upon our power of sympathetic association? The question carries us to the heart of one of the more interesting problems suggested by Miss Sitwell's admittedly brilliant verse. The poem in question, the early "Aubade," is in one sense merely an exercise in the counterbalancing of two worlds: that of the dead-literal mind and that of the infinitely suggestible imagination. So much is clear in the poem, though the specific train of evocation by which the poet claims to arrive at her image of creaking light is not. The reader may indeed be sympathetic, yet the arbitrariness remains, suggesting a certain detachment from the ordinary, "committed," human frame of reference. The poem, in fact, is addressed rather mockingly, in nursery singsong, to a dull serving girl whose universe is limited by "eternities of kitchen garden." It taunts her with lacking the finer sensibilities. But the form and imagery combine to make this cruelty seem merely incidental, like the cruelty in Alice's wonderland.

Miss Sitwell's own wonderland, ever since she became the grand pioneer—during and after World War I—in the movement to free English verse of its staleness, has been made up of "thick assonances" and "distorted dissonances" and "disembodied sounds" and "lines that rock up and down"—all phrases she has used to denote specific, consciously achieved effects—and of such "facts" as that "thin grass trembling in the wind" resembles "a high whining or whinnying sound." In 1929, her "Gold Coast Customs" showed, as later "The Song of the Cold" and other pieces were to do, the extent to which virtuosity had concealed the typical Western-élite personality at the center of the wonderland. It is a personality familiar in Pound and Eliot—at times playing the Baudelairean dandy, eager to shock the bourgeoisie and snub the Jew but shudderingly sensitive; at other times gravely moral as it chides mankind for making wars, forgetting Jesus and embracing "cold" science.

Wonderful lines and images and echoes of literary and religious touchstones go into Miss Sitwell's rediscoveries of the Waste Land and her counter-assertions of the "glory of Life." One almost forgets that in "Gold Coast Customs" the Negro is a symbolic counter for everything primitively

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¶ Professor Isaac G. Matthews, of the Crozer Theological Seminary, writes:

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vicious and anti-human in our blood and that the most representative figure in our modern civilization of blood and betrayal is one Lady Bamburgher. An apologetic footnote "takes care" of the one giveaway; the other is conveniently taken for granted. Yet the poem is magnificent, for the truer spokesmen of a culture thrive on its corruption as well as its power. What they reveal, not what they believe, is what wins our allegiance as a poetic audience.

At a lower pitch, Sir Osbert's selection of poems in *England Revisited* tends to be didactic, satirical and pastoral rather than lyrical. But his basic referents are his sister's too: personal non-conformism rooted in an aristocratic traditionalism. His close attention to the inhabitants of the British countryside makes him akin to those Georgians against whom Edith battled joyously some decades ago. However, the pacifistic "Poems of the Wars," like his sallies against the Churchill sort of Tory, have a sharp bite to them. All these poems are deceptively simple. Read aloud, they suddenly exhibit a high degree of control that is partly rhetorical in its pacing but chiefly a kind of intellectual workmanship with an eighteenth-century cast. Oh, the luxury of being the fading grin on the face of a Cheshire cat that isn't really there at all! M. L. ROSENTHAL

M. L. Rosenthal is a member of the English faculty of Washington Square College, New York University. He has contributed to Poetry, the University Review, New York Herald Tribune Books, etc., and is the prospective editor of a new quarterly magazine.

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BRIEF COMMENT

Christina Rossetti, by Marya Zaturenska (Macmillan; $4).

This study is subtitled "A Portrait with Background." The background is wide enough to permit extensive anecdotal ramblings through late eighteenth and nineteenth-century literary history, but the shy, severe, Christina Rossetti is a difficult subject for biography. There would seem to be abundant material: her Italian heritage; a large, talented family; their dominating mother; the Pre-Raphaelite circle; a rigorously interpreted Anglo-Catholicism; two suitors rejected on religious grounds. But the pattern for integrating these elements in a personality is missing, and the color and mass drain from the portrait into the background. The author finds herself too often characterizing her subject by such vague formulas as "a great lady" who was spoken of "as a saint, but also as a disagreeable woman." And Dante Gabriel Rossetti almost elbows his sister out of the frame.

Miss Zaturenska does review Christina Rossetti's poetry, but she is less concerned to criticize it than to impress on the reader her own (perfectly understandable) enthusiasm.

The School for Wives; Robert; and Genevieve, by André Gide (Alfred A. Knopf; $2.75).

The three parts of this volume were first published separately, and only *The School for Wives* has appeared previously in an English translation. But they form a whole—each, Gide suggests, a panel in a triptych. In its earlier pages, *The School for Wives* is the diary of a young girl who marries for love and with a reverential respect for her husband's traits of self-abnegation and idealism. Later, the diary records the same woman's reflections twenty years after. She has come slowly to understand and finally to despise her paragon of a husband. The self-abnegation and idealism are only a mask to cover selfishness and expediency. The wife—and later Geneviève, the daughter—sees the mask; the husband never sees it. He is not a hypocrite; rather he is a victim of his own humbug, effectively deceived by his habit "of always saying 'he thinks he ought' to do what he simply does because he wants to do it, or rather, still more often, because it seems to him opportune to do it." It is not his ill-will or mistreatment his wife resents: "The only thing I can reproach him with is his very being."

The second part contains the husband's self-justification. It is in the main a pathetic account of the wife Robert loved and who at first loved him but who finally criticized and undermined him, as he sees it, through sheer willfulness.

Geneviève, a later account by the daughter, echoes her mother's observations but also extends them by a sympathetic insight into the older woman. The book provides the familiar Gidean situation: Robert, the Catholic, represents conventions and traditional morality; the wife and daughter expose his spiritual exhaustion by holding up the torch of their own "sincerity," lit at the pure flame of their inner vision. But it is not for this traditional Protestant formula that Gide's novel is notable. Rather, it is for the subtle and moving way he works it out in the human terms of a disastrous marriage.

Royal Dukes, by Roger Fulford (Macmillan; $2.50).

The Georgian figures of the Queen's father and uncles disturbed the tone of the Victorian milieu. "The result," says Roger Fulford, "was that a heavy modesty curtain was drawn across the history of their lives." And the results of that was that the sons of George III have survived as scandalous triflers, born habitués of the light memoir. "The question" which concerns Roger Fulford in these six studies of the Royal Dukes (excepting George IV) is "whether their public lives were quite so trivial, and their private lives quite so scandalous." The conclusion one must draw is that they were indeed.

These studies make an eminently readable volume, entertaining, first of all, but always intelligent and authoritative, fitting the subjects into the political and social history of their time and into the pattern of the Hanoverian dynasty.

The Strange Life of Charles Waterton, by Richard Aldington (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $3).

There lived, from 1782 to 1865, an English gentleman of an ancient county family named Charles (and known as "Squire") Waterton. He was an ardent Roman Catholic who furiously resented the persecution of his family by the Tudors and later the Hanoverians; he traveled widely in remote areas; he was a pioneer taxidermist; he built on his estate the first bird sanctuary, and fanatically dedicated himself to exterminating the brown rat; he liked to go barefoot and climb trees. For these and kindred habits, his "biographer," Richard Aldington, grants him the "proud title" of great "eccentric," that "valuable contribution to the world's human fauna," and scrutinizes this "unique dodo" with much the same detachment (but less respect) that naturalist Waterton accorded his own specimens.

Whatever else may be indebted to him, Charles Waterton is indeed a "valuable contribution" to the light essayist whose style and attitude to "human fauna" derive from the late Lytton Strachey. J. F.

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MUSIC

"Khovanchina"

As ONE of the final gestures of Edward Johnson's *ancien régime*, the Metropolitan Opera staged Modeste Moussorgsky's "Khovanchina" for the first time on February 16. An invocation of late seventeenth-century Russia, resembling in its epic proportions the composer's earlier "Boris Godounov," Moussorgsky's last opera deals with the conflict between the old and the new, and depicts the mystical-patriotic fanaticism of the cult of Old Believers, who choose mass self-immolation rather than submission to the oppressive rule of Peter the Great. The score contains a number of spectacular choruses on the order of those in "Boris," a colorful set of Persian dances in the exotic style of the familiar Polovtsian Dances in Borodin's "Prince Igor," and a good deal of dramatically effective music for the bass—the leader of the Old Believers—and the mezzo-soprano heroine.

The first-night audience appeared to be pleased with "Khovanchina," remaining to applaud heartily after the curtain finally descended on the flaming pyre at 11:40. The cast sang in what was described as English, but the text is stiff and stilted, and the plot so recondite and confused that only a zealous student of the libretto can follow it. Passages of undeniable grandeur are separated—especially in the first two of the four outsize acts—by stretches commonplace in invention and boringly overextended. I am as ready as the next man to honor the Metropolitan for venturing to produce a classic so much talked about and so seldom heard, but I suspect "Khovanchina" will soon become a white elephant in the repertory.

Moussorgsky himself never straightened out the plot structure of the opera. Distracted by drink and irregular living, he became increasingly muddled as he went along, adding characters and plot elements without bringing them into satisfactory focus. He died in 1881 without completing the score. Rimsky-Korsakov devoted the better part of two

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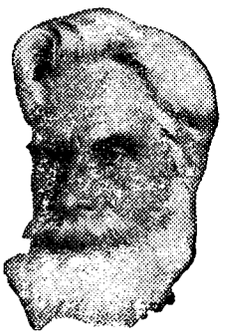

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years to an attempt to make his friend's opera performable, composing a closing chorus, cutting and clarifying the various scenes, and orchestrating the entire work. But even these labors of love could not make more than a torso of "Khovanchina," and most audiences have agreed with Linton Martin, who called its American première in Philadelphia in 1928 "the prize mystery play of the season."

When he first seized upon "Khovanchina" (roughly translatable as "The Khovansky Affair") as the subject for an opera, Moussorgsky wrote, "I want to plow the unfertilized, virgin earth; not merely to become acquainted with the people, but I thirst to be their brother." As he worked on the opera, however, the black earth and the people were pushed into the background in favor of a congestion of princes, pretenders, spies, soldiers and religious zealots. A libretto planned as a simple exposition of the suffering of the people, symbolized by the conflict between the Old Believers and the new political schemers and tyrants, soon became cluttered with triangular romantic complications and with an unintelligible subplot dealing with the rival designs of two potential usurpers, both of whom are ultimately put in their place by Peter the Great. It is exhausting enough to try to simplify the story into a reasonable synopsis; spread over more than three hours and a half of slow motion in the opera house, the intrigues of "Khovanchina" make "Il Trovatore" seem as simple as "Boy Meets Girl."

The lofty moments of the score are worth preserving, but the musical conception of the work as a whole is far less arresting than that of "Boris Godounov." The opera runs much more to extended arias and set pieces (some of which are eloquently expressive); it lacks the brusque directness and the wonderful fidelity to speech inflections that give "Boris" much of the immediacy of a spoken play. No central character inspires the fascination of the ruthless, mad Boris. And certainly it contains nothing comparable to the majesty of the Coronation Scene; nothing to match the Idiot's complaint, that epitome of the hopelessness of a suppressed people. "Khovanchina" is to be treasured chiefly for its flashes of power and dignity, and for the impressive ecclesiastical coloration to be found in some of the choruses and in the solo passages sung by Dossifé, the Old Believer.

The Metropolitan took its task seriously, and turned out a thoughtfully prepared production that compensated somewhat for the general shoddiness of its recent output. The settings by Mstislav Doboujinski, who designed the City Center's gay "Love for Three Oranges" last fall, were tasteful and handsome. The young American bass, Jerome Hines, sang magnificently as Dossifé, a role associated with Chaliapin. Risë Stevens, as Marfa, the tiresome heroine, succeeded in making palatable an unendearing, masochistic character. The chorus had been well rehearsed and sang resonantly. Emil Cooper, who directed the first performance of "Khovanchina" outside Russia —in Paris in 1913—also conducted this one, but a good deal of the musical life seems to have gone out of him. Cooper has scored and restored certain passages that Rimsky-Korsakov decided to omit. To my mind, Rimsky-Korsakov was right. I should have liked "Khovanchina" better if there had been less of it.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Hitchcock's Revival

THOSE OF US who buried Alfred Hitchcock after "Under Capricorn" have a quick job of exhumation on our hands. The old magician was only in a catalepsy, and he has come bouncing back with one of the most entertaining homicidal comedies of his career. "Stage Fright" is dished up with much the offhand virtuosity of "The Lady Vanishes" and "The 39 Steps." I don't want to raise false hopes by the comparison, but that is the category to which the new picture belongs.

The prognosis for "Stage Fright" was not entirely favorable. It seemed, like other recent Hitchcock pictures, a little star-heavy; one questioned whether he could hold the whip over so various and individualistic a team as Jane Wyman, Marlene Dietrich, Michael Wilding, Richard Todd, Dame Sybil Thorndike and Alistair Sim. But though there are moments when one or another of the celebrities is disposed to stop the proceedings for a private interlude of ham, Hitchcock succeeds on the whole both in making the best possible use of their special talents and in driving them to his purpose.

"Stage Fright" would suffer before a slow audience. It is full of wit, but much of it is flicked out with almost disdainful negligence and with no wait for the laughs. Even the final kill is a sardonic joke. It can be objected that Hitchcock's new plot is a bit ragged and purists may complain that he has not been scrupulously fair in arranging his surprise. But such charges are trivial against the fact that the most crafty of directors has regained his style. It was a pleasure to applaud as Hitchcock's round, anxious face appeared once again in the traditional split-second street scene.

John Ford's "When Willie Comes Marching Home" has a couple of small jokes to tell, but it takes a weary time getting to them. It is paced to a slow beat, repetitious and a little too obvious. Dan Dailey, the Willie of the title, is both an ingratiating comic and a capable song plugger, but every time he looks to be working up some momentum he runs into a patch of scenario underbrush and the laughter fades away.

There are two parts, loosely integrated, to "Willie." The first concerns the miseries of a GI stationed in his home town for what promises to be the duration. Bill Kluggs (Dailey) was the first boy in Punxatawney to enlist, and when he was sent from basic training to the new airfield on the edge of town, he assumed it was the jump-off spot to combat. So did his family and the townspeople, and he received standard conquering-hero treatment, with brass-band accompaniment. But the months went by, less impetuous patriots were covering themselves with glory, and Willie, the best gunnery instructor in the Air Force, was earning the Good Conduct Medal with oak-leaf cluster. There are some laughs through here, as Dailey

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waxes in frustration and shame and the town looks on in cynical amusement.

The second act of the picture opens when Willie finally wangles a berth on a bomber bound for war. The plane misses England; Willie parachutes to the Maquis; comes into possession of "vital intelligence" and in three days is back again in Punxatawney, the return trip having been made via SHAEF and the Pentagon Building. The joke here is that well-meaning officers along the way order the exhausted Kluggs to drink such a ferocious mixture of restorative liquors that he arrives home in a state of boozy confusion scarcely suggestive of a dangerous mission successfully accomplished.

With a tighter script, crisper direction and a supporting cast that understood the delicate art of straight-faced clowning (Evelyn Varden, a very funny woman, is an honorable exception), this loose-jointed tale might have worked up a mood of considerable hysteria. As it is, there are too many moments when you gaze at your fingernails and wish the anecdotist would get to the punch line.

The trouble with "Young Man with a Horn" is that it turns out to be about a young man in a vacuum. Warner Brothers, having provided itself with the ingredients for a first-rate chronicle of an astonishing era, muffed the opportunity and produced a "B" picture with pretensions.

Generally speaking, it is unfair to criticize a movie for what it does not attempt, but the story of one of the great pioneers in American jazz (the Dorothy Baker novel, from which the picture is taken, is said to be based on the life of Bix Beiderbecke) has no point at all unless it makes some contact with the world that produced such men and which they tried to interpret. "Young Man with a Horn" takes place in a kind of sleazy, anonymous present that has no flavor and no relation to the stunned genius of its hero. It is a lazy, thoughtless picture unworthy the talents of Kirk Douglas or Hoagy Carmichael or Juano Hernandez, all three of whom could have understood and conveyed the real story. Lauren Bacall is made to play a role of neurotic sophistication that grates with stilted lines, and only Doris Day, whose job is to sing and who does it with infectious pleasure, is happily employed. Harry James supervised the music and it is his trumpet you hear when Douglas gets up to play.

ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

Hail, Caesar!

A royal decree announced today the appointment of Gen. Mohammed Haidar Pasha to the newly created post of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He is considered Egypt's top military expert. He was responsible for strategic planning of the war with Israel. . . . – *UP dispatch from Cairo.*

Orchids to Virginia

Governor William M. Tuck announced that the flogging of prisoners in Virginia has been discontinued. . . . He also said that "approximately three-fourths of the prisoners now assigned to the road camps, sleep without chains.

"The people of Virginia may take justifiable pride in the progress that has been made in our penal system," he said. – *From the Los Angeles* Tribune.

Sauce for the Sergeant

The US Army told GIs today to spruce up their table manners. It said two enlisted men already have been court-martialed for refusing to pass the ketchup to a sergeant. – *UP dispatch from Frankfurt.*

That New-Time Religion

The Wilshire Church of Immortality of Los Angeles asked the secretary of state's office yesterday for information on how to change its name.

"The reason," the letter said, "for desiring this change is brought about through repeated inadvertence, on the part of others, in the spelling of 'immortality.' We have received several letters addressed to the Wilshire Church of Immorality." – *UP dispatch from Sacramento.*

Babies for Ballots

Princess Elizabeth of Great Britain is expecting her second child, ABC correspondent Paul Harvey reported tonight in a broadcast from London. The date of the birth is set for late August, Mr. Harvey said.

"This report may be denied," he added, "and certainly would not be confirmed while the report might be construed as important to the trend of Thursday's British election." – *From the New York* World-Telegram.

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